



## Verse.

May his reign endure as long as Time.

May the cachet of cycles appear on his decrees !

One of the occurrences was the election of Qutbu-d-din Khān 184 to the rank of a commander of 5000. What day was there when that appreciator of the temporal and spiritual kingdoms did not raise officers, wherever stationed, to high rank? Inasmuch as the arrangement of the outer world is implicated with the increase of degrees of rank he made the canons of justice and equity the blazon of the portico of intelligence and used to augment the grades of the servants of the court. At once men's qualities were tested, and the world's market was kept alive. If an account of these measures were written, this sublime volume would not contain it. I am constrained to attend to great matters and to refrain from touching details. No, No ! every detail of the sublime court is the totality of the upper world. But the complete description of the events of ever-adorned dominion is beyond the capacity of the human intelligence, then what can be done by one a bewildered soul of the fraternity of contingent existence (*anjuman-i-imkān*). Especially when I have taken on the shoulder of objective the burdens of the social state, would the attempt at real asceticism, and at sitting in the ravine of obscurity, and at breaking the connection of materiality, with a weak heart and a distracted soul, be destructive of peace of mind. In writing the tale of enlightenment I have, contrary to followers of the commonplace, made Divine worship and thanksgivings for favours received my guide in truth's wilderness, and have in spite of the distraction of conflicting motives applied myself with an honest intent and truth-choosing disposition to the accomplishment of this great task. The holy order which bears the signature of Wisdom is that if the hand does not reach the body of the skirt, one should not try to seize its hem by a corner, and if there is no path to the garden-alley one should not contort the face by trying to smell the flowers. Consequently by mentioning some leading articles of the court of fortune I in the first place collect materials for my own bliss, and secondly I prepare a fresh gift for inquirers both present and future. Perhaps by means of this I may have a place in their hearts and may become one of the front-sitters of acceptance.





One of the occurrences was the sending of an army to punish Daudā,<sup>1</sup> the son of Rai Sarjan, the ruler of Ranthambor. That evil-disposed one went off without leave to his native country of Būndī, and opened the hand of oppression. The just sovereign appointed Safdar Khān, Bahādur Khān, Muḥammad Husain Shaikh, Kāndar Rai, Jāndūn Sultan, Jaimal and other warriors to make that infatuated one who did not see the end of things, crapulous with failure and to give protection to the inhabitants, and the shadiness of repose.

---

<sup>1</sup> B. 410.





## CHAPTER XXXIV.

## EXPEDITION TO AJMERE, ETC.

The pious sovereign proceeded to the shrine of Khwāja M'īnu-<sup>185</sup>  
d-dīn Sanjārī on the day of Isfandārmaz 5 Mihr, Divine month, 15  
September 1576. He went on horseback and was accompanied by  
some of his servants and a number of loyal amīrs. At the first stage  
Mīrzā K. met him, having come by order from Gujarāt, and had the  
glory of doing homage. The wise king made plurality<sup>1</sup> the veil of  
unity and alighted at Ajmere on the night of Mihr 16<sup>2</sup> Mihr, Divine  
month, 26 September, and performed the ceremonies of visiting the  
shrine of the holy sepulchre. The troops of men who had gathered  
from the various parts of the earth to offer up their vows, became  
possessed of joy. Mankind in general carried off abundant store  
from the table of bounty. Masters of joy dispelled grief by dancing  
and clapping of hands.

*Verse.*

The vocalist ministered wine, but 'twas by the way of the  
ear.

Outwardly, the city of custom was in fête, inwardly, fresh ver-  
dure was given to the rose-garden of Truth by irrigation.

One of the occurrences was that Kūār Mān Singh and the other  
officers of the province came out and did homage. This faithful band  
had, on the rising of the light of H.M.'s fortune and the setting  
of the Rānā's star behind the hills of defeat, encamped in Goganda.  
The outcast from the Divine precincts (*dargāh*) had carried the face  
of disgrace to these mountain-defiles. The officers from prudential  
motives did not go in quest of him, and on account of the difficulty in

<sup>1</sup> That is, made society, or per-  
haps business, a veil for solitary con-  
templation.

<sup>2</sup> The T. A. says Akbar arrived at  
Ajmere on Thursday 5 Rajab, and  
Badayūnī says he arrived on 6 Rajab,  
which was the anniversary of the  
saint (29 September 1576). The

anniversary (*'urs*) nearly coincided  
with the date of Akbar's birthday.  
Indeed it may have completely done  
so, for the Rajputana Gazetteer,  
p. 63, says that the day of the saint's  
death is uncertain, and so the festi-  
val lasts from 1 to 6 Rajab.



transporting provisions they came out of that stony land and reared the standards of victory in the open plain. Tricksters<sup>1</sup> and time-servers suggested to the royal ear that there had been slackness in extirpating the wretch, and the officers were nearly incurring the king's displeasure. But by the might and profundity of examination, which are the glorious characteristics of the world's lord, the veil was removed from the painted countenance of those evil-inclined word-spinners. One of the joyous occurrences was that on the day of Bād 22 Mihr, 2 October 1576, which contained the auspiciousness of time and displayed the rays of the glory of the age, the coin of Creation's Treasury (Akbar's body) was weighed<sup>2</sup> according to fixed rule against glorious objects, and there was an assayment of gifts.

One of the occurrences was the coming to court of Peshrau K.<sup>3</sup> and his bringing the good news of the last victory, viz., of the defeat of Gajpatī and of his having met with his deserts. The brief account of this is that he from topsy-turviness of fortune and from the inaccessibility of his country transgressed the path of obedience and became presumptuous, as has already been briefly narrated. He was meditating the plundering of Ghūzīpūr, when Shāhbūz K. arrived with the army of fortune, and his confidence was shaken. He saw it was best to seek safety in flight and hastened off to the ferry of Causa. He crossed the Ganges and stood ready for the battle. The heroes by exertions collected boats and proceeded to cross. By

<sup>1</sup> It is stated by B. 340 that Akbar was displeased because Mān Singh did not follow up his victory and so he recalled him. In this B. is supported by Badayūnī. Another thing which annoyed Akbar was that Mān Singh let his army suffer want in Goganda rather than plunder the country of the Rānā, who was a Rajput like himself. Badayūnī, Lowe 247, says Mān Singh and Āṣaf K. were for a time not allowed to pay their respects.

<sup>2</sup> The weighing took place twice a year. This was the lunar weighing, and it took place on this occa-

sion on the 8th or 9th Rajab 984. But it nearly coincided with the solar anniversary. Perhaps the two weightings were amalgamated.

<sup>3</sup> B. 498, but Peshrau seems to have been sent in the 21st year, and not the 19th. See supra 169. Peshrau lived to be 90 years of age and died in the 3rd year of Jahangir, Tūzuk 71. For his biography see the Maṣṣir, and B. 497. He was called Peshrau (forerunner) because he was in charge of the *pešhraukhāna* and so had to go with the Advance Camp, Tūzuk J. 23.



their vigorous action the enemy was driven into the desert of defeat. 186 They got possession of guns and boats and other goods of his. On the march they came to the fort of <sup>1</sup> Mahad and set themselves to besiege it. Sangrām <sup>2</sup> the governor of the fort made the delivery of the keys the proof of his own success. Shahbāz K. made over the fort to skilful men and pressed forward to punish Gajpatī. The wretch sought shelter in the forests of Bhojpūr, where there are many heights and hollows. Though the devoted warriors trod the soil of effort, they were not successful, for the slumbrous-fated one, on account of the majestic "Avaunt" (*dūrbāsh*) of Prestige (*īpāl*), did not see it good to give battle. The victorious army returned and took another route. Next day the tyrant <sup>3</sup> who was looking for his opportunity came to the bank of the river in order that he might at night stir up the dust of battle. On account of the broken nature of the ground, and the ravines, prudence did not permit the courageous heroes to cross over in front of the enemy. By the guidance of Sangrām they marched rapidly to devastate his home. In several places there were great contests, and glorious victories were gained. As the inwardly darkened one was made hopeless by the orb <sup>4</sup> of day he made a night-attack, and by his own efforts fell headlong into the gloomy abode of destruction. Covered with the dust of shame he hastened to Jagdispūr, which was the strongest of his places. The strenuous soldiers were for nearly two months engaged in cutting down the trees round the dwelling, but by the might of the Shāhīnshāh's prestige the fort was (at last) taken, and the evil-doer's family and belongings were imprisoned in the noose of the Divine wrath, while he himself was stained with the dust of dishonour and brought into contempt.

<sup>1</sup> Variant Mahda, as in B. 446 n. 1. In J. II. 154 it appears as Masodha in Sarkar Bihar, and he gives the variant Modha which Gladwin and Tiefenthaler have.

<sup>2</sup> B. 446 n. 1 and his Erratum to p. 340, l. 19. He was Rajah of Kharakpūr, id. 446.

<sup>3</sup> *qābūci*, a Turkish word literally meaning gate-keeper or door-keeper. The epithet is used apparently be-

cause Gajpatī ensconced himself in his forests and would not admit the imperialists. The word is properly *qāpūci*, from *qāpū* a gate. Meninski s.v. *qāpūci*, ed. 1780, has a long note.

<sup>4</sup> *nūristan-i-roz*. Gajpatī is represented by A.F. as a sort of night bird who could not endure the light. There is an allusion to Akbar who was the orb of day.



Peshrau Khān also related how on that night, which was big with a great victory, the Divine protection became his fortress owing to his turning himself towards the Shāhinshāh, so that he was delivered from his deadly peril. The story of that great deliverance is briefly as follows: "From the time<sup>1</sup> that I fell into the custody of that insolent and presumptuous one there was not a day which I did not expect to be my last. But by the blessing of my remembrance of the world-lord, I was kept scatheless. Especially was this so when there was a fight with the army of fortune. And the worst time of all was the night when that slumberer in misfortune trod the desert of defeat. About seventy prisoners showed (me) the path to annihilation (*i.e.*, they were killed). Among them were four of my companions. Every one was made over to a scoundrel that he might be slain in the forest, and he who was told off to take the life of this hopeless one (himself) took me apart, and set himself to cut the woof and warp of my existence. I made the holy personality of the Shāhinshāh the medium for drawing nigh to God, and turned the face of supplication to the Source of bounties. Sinking my head into my collar I became absorbed in meditating that if this osseous tower (*kākhh-i-istakhoānī*, *i.e.*, his body) did not protect me I might obtain a  
**187** lofty chamber in the blessed abode of joy. When a long time elapsed, and there was no sign of the iron-livered executioner, I raised my head, and he came forward with supplications and entreaties, and said, "Art thou one of the guests of the banquet of vision, or a chosen one of the workshop of mystery, for however much I tried, my arm refused to act?" In reply I expounded to him fidelity and the wonders of the Shāhinshāh's fortune, and became his teacher (guide of the path). This discourse concerning the truth had not ended when Gajpatī passed by us. As he was in the slumber of failure, and his evil destiny hung down a veil over the eye of enlightenment, he regarded this warning exposition as trickery and made me over to another murderer. He too made great efforts to throw down my elemental structure, and I meditated as before on the holy personality of the spiritual and temporal Khedive, and making him my fortress I turned towards the Divine<sup>2</sup> Court. Though that strong man used

<sup>1</sup> See text, p. 169.

<sup>2</sup> Perhaps meaning that he turned his face towards Fatḥpūr as Daniel

did towards Jerusalem. Dan. vi. 10 and Tobit 3. 11.





all his might, his sword would not come out of the sheath. Suddenly that vagabond (Gajpatī) of the desert of destruction again passed us. Seeing what had taken place he grew wrathful and he scowled. As he was in great confusion, for, on the one hand he was in fear of his life, and of being captured, and on the other was the thought of how he could convey his family into safety, he lost the path of auspiciousness. At a signal from him the same executioner took me on an elephant and went off in order that he might dispose of me in a safe place and at his ease. The elephant was newly caught and vicious. The man got hurt and flung himself down, and in so doing he got kicked and swooned away. Just then the elephant made a fearful noise, and ran off, and on hearing the terrible sound all the other elephants stampeded. Soon I came to a desert where there was no sign of man. During this rapid career I flung my arms, which were tied, round the driver's neck in order that I might squeeze his throat, and that when he was done for, I might convey myself to a place of safety. The driver thought "he's trying to make fast to me." At last he perceived my object and contrived to fling himself off. The elephant continued to rush on. At break of day he halted, and I flung myself off and fell on my face and became insensible. I recovered my senses at midday. In a very weak state I managed to come to the road. A horseman came in sight, and hurried on, thinking me a stranger. I thought he was a person I knew and called out. He recognised me and made the prostration of thanksgiving. He was one of the attendants who were making a keen search for me. I returned thanks for the glorious results of my meditation on the holy personality and for the marvellous Divine aid, and got on the saddle and became joyous and thankful. Just then I heard a kettledrum. I hastened in its direction and saw 'Arab Bahādur and a party of soldiers who were looking for me. I came with him to Shahbāz K. and told him the tale of how I had been succoured by the spiritual and temporal King of Kings. All bowed their heads on witnessing this great miracle.

I magnify the multiplex, sublime influences which yield such 188  
rays of guardianship for the protection and guidance of those who may be far away from the precincts of the carpet of honour, and which brighten the eyes of the hearts of the auspicious ones who are



in the court of the Presence. Accordingly,<sup>1</sup> many a time during this august campaign did he cause the children who had come to despair of him to be filled with joy by the good news of his being alive and of his returning. Some of those who were sunk in the whirlpool of ignorance and who regarded the tricklings of truth as merely conventional comfortings, arose from their negligent somnolence, bedewed with shame.<sup>2</sup>

God be praised for that the throne-occupier of Unity in Multiplicity continually raises by wonderful contrivances the sincere to increased light, and kindles a lamp of guidance for the unfortunate who are in the gloomy abode of ignorance, and makes them acquainted with illumination. What marvel is it if the holy spirits of highly-favoured God-knowers have such wondrous power? Or how is it strange if those who rub their foreheads on the thresholds of holy souls have such joy after agony? But petty-spirited formalists from smallness of understanding imagine real excellence and spiritual eminence to exist among the rag-wearers of the desert of asceticism, and on beholding such miracles as these (in Akbar) bind thousands of loads of astonishment on the heavy-footed porters of their hearts.

Amongst the wonderful things which he (Peshrau K.) related was this: "While I was hastening along I fell in with a man in chains.<sup>3</sup> He took pity on my loneliness<sup>4</sup> and made his servant go with me. In return for his kindness I released him. On that very day just as he<sup>5</sup>

<sup>1</sup> It is not clear whether this is a general statement or refers only to the children of Peshrau K.

<sup>2</sup> Meaning that when Akbar told friends or relations that some absent one would return, they thought it was merely "vacant chaff well meant for grain." This sentence seems to show that the previous sentence is a general statement and does not refer merely to Peshrau.

<sup>3</sup> Masalsal. Perhaps this was a revenue-defaulter. See the word used with reference to *Shāh Manṣūr*. A. N. III, 123. Apparently he was accompanied by his servant.

<sup>4</sup> This seems to refer to the time when he was travelling post and by land. If he had been in the boat (see text, p. 162) he would have had his boatmen, and perhaps the four companions whom he alludes to at p. 186. Perhaps the loneliness refers to his being in a foreign country and ignorant of the language. He had been brought up in Tabriz.

<sup>5</sup> The sentence is obscure, but I think the "he" in this place must refer to the servant and not to the man in chains. It looks almost as if the latter had been chained up in some place in the jungle, but allowed



by being separated from the unfortunate one emerged from the defile of the wilds, so did I by the unluckiness of his coming fall into prison. In the beginning of that night which was followed by the dawn which released me from my deadly captivity he, with many other prisoners, was sent to the pit of annihilation. Just as I by the misfortune of his company was seized by evil, so was I by the blessing of his departure made the attainer of happiness."

One of the occurrences was the erasure of the writing of the life of Biri Sāl. When the light of the celestial rays, which is the shining lamp of daily-increasing fortune, made Gajpatī a vagabond of the desert of ruin, and when, though Shergarh<sup>1</sup> was a strong refuge, he from confusion and mortal fear and with the thorn of failure in his foot hastened to the hill-country of Rohtās, and put upon his shoulder the mantle of ignominy, his brother Biri Sāl and many others of the rebels put their trust in the hills and glades of the forest. Brave and active men followed and suddenly fell upon them, and he and many others were slain. Much booty was obtained.

Another event of increasing fortune was the taking of the fort of Rohtās. Whereas loyalty, laboriousness, and the non-selling<sup>2</sup> of service are the keys of success, and the untiers of the knots of deeds and of glorious enterprises—which worldlings regard as difficult—this fort, the taking of which by physical means was an arduous task, was easily gained and with little effort. When Gajpatī was trodden under foot by misfortune, his son Sri Rām<sup>3</sup> and a number

to have his servant. He gave his servant to Peshrau and presumably departed to his home. The servant went with Peshrau. Peshrau's coming freed the servant from the necessity of staying on in the jungle, but the ill-luck of his company led to Peshrau's being seized. Then the servant was led off to execution, and Peshrau says his departure saved him. Peshrau's story does not occur in the Lucknow edition. It is an interesting tale, but A. F. has done his best to spoil it by his turgid and staccato mode of writing. Pesh-

rau was a title, and was apparently given on account of the courier's activity. His real name, or at least another name, was Mihtar Sādat. See B. 497, and Jahāngīr's Memoirs.

<sup>1</sup> Ruined village in Shahabad district 20 miles S.W. Sāsarām. Sher Shāh built a strong fortress here which is described in the Archaeological Survey. I. G. XXII. 272.

<sup>2</sup> Khidmat nafaroshī. A. F. reflects on those who, as he expresses it, sell their services, i.e., do not act from loyalty but from greed.

<sup>3</sup> This name does not occur in the



189 of audacious rebels collected materials of defence and established themselves in Shergarh. Shahbāz K. set himself to besiege it, and commenced to construct sabāṭ (covered ways), etc. Most of the rebels in the country took the highway of submission. During this interval, by the wondrous working of prestige, a fresh flower adorned the garden of wishes. The brief account of this is that when the country was without any great officer, Rohtās fell into the hands of Junaid. He made it over to one of his trusted followers named Saiyid Muḥammad. When Junaid was killed, Saiyid Muḥammad for some time guarded the fort with evil intentions. But as he had no proper backing, he thought to himself that he might, by the mediation of some influential person at the imperial court, use the fort as an offering and so become one of the imperial servants. But from abundant shrewdness he did not openly say anything. At this time the bandits of the neighbourhood of the fort, without whose concurrence it was difficult to get near the hill, were influenced by dread of the imperial army and elected to become loyal. Mozaffar Khān also marched with the army of Bihar to take the fort. The garrison lost endurance, and they opened up a correspondence with Shahbāz K. by sending trusty men to him and making proposals for obtaining quarter. He readily acceded to their wishes, and went there rapidly with some brave men. He made the bewildered garrison joyful and returned thanks to God. Mozaffar Khān on hearing of this delightful conquest sorrowfully retraced his steps.

One of the occurrences was the taking of Shergarh. When, owing to daily increasing fortune, Rohtās had come into possession, the inhabitants of this mountainous tract (koh-pāya) lost confidence. Before the veil had been removed from the face of their actions, Sri Rām, their head, wisely recognised the majesty of the imperial fortune, and paid his respects to Shahbāz K. He delivered over the keys of the fort to him and amended his evil fortune.

One of the occurrences was the despatch of victorious troops to the province of Jālor and Sirohī and their being successful. When it came to the august hearing that Tāj Khān Jālorī had twisted his head away from obedience, and that Deora Rai of Sirohī was also, from ignorance, not observing the rules of servitude, Tarson Khān,

genealogical tree which I have received from the office of the Rānī of Dumraon.





Rai Rai Singh, Saiyid Hāshim Bārha, and many skilful fighters were appointed. They were to begin by using soothing and admonitory language in order that they might guide the recalcitrants into the highway of obedience. If the object could be effected by these means, which are approved by the wise, they were not to take the path of battle, but to assure them of the reward of the Divine favour. Otherwise, they were to put down their feet firmly on the field of effort, and to regard the Divine Will as involved in the cutting of the warp and woof of the existence of such turbulent spirits. The warriors soon reached Jālor, and Tāj Khān bound himself to the saddle-straps of enduring dominion by proofs of repentance. When this business had been easily disposed of, they addressed themselves to proceed to Sirohi. The Rai of that place also awoke from his somnolent fortune, and came with an ashamed countenance to the servants of dominion. He, together with Tāj Khān, set off to perform the worship of prostration at the holy threshold. By orders from H.M. Tarson K. hastened to the government of Pattan-Gujrāt. Saiyid Hāshim and Rai Rai Singh took up their quarters in the town of Nādot<sup>1</sup> and made the strife-mongers of that country obedient. The roads of ingress and egress from the Rānā's country were closed. 190

One of the occurrences was the directing of the standards of world-conquest towards Goganda. The holy heart meditated the administration of the country by hunting in that direction, so that the disobedient there might once for all be made wanderers in the desert of failure, and also that by the blessing of the advent of the king of kings the inhabitants might choose the light of auspiciousness. In this way the spectacle of the Divine marvels would increase the enlightenment of the skilful, and the casting down of the evil, and the cherishing of the good—which are the most choice form of Divine worship, and the fountain of spiritual and secular excellences—would be accomplished on a proper scale and without the admixture caused by the courting of sellers of their services, and without the introduction of the artifices of mischief-makers. Also outward matters would be disposed of according to spiritual considerations. What a fine work this is which both bears on its face the colour of devotion, and also is a powerful help to the development of training!

<sup>1</sup> B. 357, J. II, 254. It is in Gujrāt.



Though at first sight well-wishing has reference to the good, yet on profound inspection it is clear that there may be well-wishing with reference to the evil. And though at first sight it is reproof which is addressed to the disobedient and turbulent, yet in reality it is a source of bliss for such as are pure. For by the vigour of a proper investigation, the testing of the essential substance is brought to the touchstone of the balance, so that the cherishing of the first class (*i.e.* the good) and the source of exaltation may be impressed on the mind of the superficial followers of custom. And it is clear that the assemblage of the duties of sovereignty reposes primarily on the responsibility of throne-occupiers of wide capacity who belong to the palace of Sultan Wisdom. From this view the pious King of Kings applies his own holy spirit to the disposal of matters which cannot be managed in the most excellent way by his servants. Accordingly at this time, which was the beginning of the radiation of the luminary of prestige, when a ray showed that the Rānā had lifted up his head for sedition in the southern hill country, and that Rai Narayan Dās<sup>1</sup> was rearing the standard of presumption in Īdar, and also that the heads of another faction were itching with pride, he resolved to go hunting<sup>2</sup> in that country. On the day of Mārisfand 29 Mihr, Divine month, the different grades of officers and a number of servants who had the bliss of being at court came forward in troops, adorned with steel, and presented themselves for inspection.

*Verse.*

The heroes were sunk in iron from head to foot,  
 Their appearance was like that of a mirror.  
 A man so encased himself in iron  
 That his eyelashes took the shape of needles.<sup>3</sup>

- 191 On that day the royal cavalier chiefly rode upon the elephant Bālsundar, and though the pretext of the ride was a joyous hunting-party, and only some servants of the Presence were in attendance, a

<sup>1</sup> J. II, 241, where it is said that Narayan Dās was of such austere life that he lived on the grain voided by cattle.

<sup>2</sup> *lit.* to hunt that country as his game.

<sup>3</sup> *Souan*. It also means the instrument used to clean the touch-hole of a gun.





great army made its appearance. On 31 Mihr, Divine month (about 11 October 1576), after Divine worship—which consisted in the arrangement of outward affairs—he marched from the pleasant spot of Ajmere towards Goganda. A sublime order was given that the officers of the guard (*umrā-i-kishik*)<sup>1</sup> should every day after performing their service hasten forward and become the watchmen of the processes of enlightenment, and also that they should when entering on their duties of serving in the fore-court of the Presence perform the *kornish*. When the standards of fortune approached their destination many of the presumptuous ones of that country rubbed the forehead of obedience. The Rānā went into the hill country of contempt before the majesty of the *Shāhīnshāh*. Out of precaution and farsightedness Qutbu-d-dīn Khān, Rajah Bhagwant Dās, and Kūar Mān Singh with sundry of the imperial servants were sent off in order that they might go into the hollows of the hills and lay hands on the villainous dweller in ravines. Qulij Khān, Khwāja Ghīāṣu-d-dīn ‘Alī Āsaf Khān, Mir Ghīāṣu-d-dīn ‘Alī Naqīb Khān, Timūr Badakhshī, Mir Abulghaig, Nūram Qulij and many other strenuous men were sent on that day to *Īdar* in order that they might clear that country of the weeds of the ungrateful.

One of the occurrences was H.M.’s inclination towards the pilgrimage to the *Hijāz*. But on the petition of the officers of dominion he abandoned his intention. The world’s lord in his abundant piety and recognition of the truth is ever strenuous in doing the will of God. And in spite of all his treasures, material and spiritual, he,

<sup>1</sup> *Kishik* is a Turkish word, meaning a baton. This obscure sentence does not occur in the Lucknow ed. Somelight is thrown on it by the 9th Ain of the 2nd Book, Blochmann 257. In the Ain text this Ain is called the *Ain-i-Kishik*, and Blochmann has translated that as “Rules about mounting guard.” It would seem from this chapter that guards were relieved and inspected in the evening, and the order of Akbar seems to have been that the officers should perform the *kornish* or the *taslim*

both when going off duty, and when coming on duty. The *kornish* and *taslim* were ordinary salutes and different from the *ajda* or prostration which was only allowed to the followers of the Divine Faith, and then only in private assemblies. The phrase “become the watchmen of the processes of enlightenment” seems to mean that after and before performing their ministerial duties of watching they became by appearing before Akbar guardians of enlightenment or spiritual awakening.



owing to his wide capacity and ample talents, does not regard what he has attained to as the satisfaction (*lit.* breakfast) of his desires. And because the world-illuminating light has taken possession of his vision, he looks not at his own daily-increasing beauty, and the glance of search is ever beaming from the eastern horizon of his soul. The foot of his genius is ever in quest of the sign of the signless One (God). At this time a set of persons without ties<sup>1</sup> (*lawandān*) who hailed from the land of simplicity perceived the royal cavalier's eagerness for bodily acts of devotion and especially for visiting distant shrines of martyrs,<sup>2</sup> and suggested again to this keen traveller of the wilderness of search the pilgrimage to the Hijāz. Though from the plenitude of his wisdom it was clear to him that pilgrimage<sup>3</sup> was the first step (only) for truth-seeking ascetics, and that those who had gone upon such journeys, and still more those who had reached the fountain-head of their desires, had gathered up their skirts from such earthly and formal worship and given their energies to other things. There were other tasks for the great ones of the social world, and their worship was of another character. Especially was this so in the case of justice-administering rulers, and most of all was it so in the case of such a world-Adorner who had taken the burden of mankind on his shoulders, and who, by his skilful projects, and flashing scimitar, had converted the territories of so many great princes into an abode of peace. How could such a form of worship be deemed suitable for him? Nevertheless the God-loving sovereign felt constrained to

192 fulfil every condition of solidarity, and so grasped this journey in the skirt of his energies. The Court-favourites and the sages of the holy assemblages described the devotions of the social and the recluse-state—they were already clear to his truthful mind—and represented—in the manner in which the honest and upright make remonstrances—that some of the great geniuses who had garnered truth, and who had held such journeys to be legitimate for his holy class, had made it conditional upon no dust of failure entering thereby the

<sup>1</sup> Lawand is a name applied to faquirs and other religious devotees.

<sup>2</sup> *Mashāhad* sepulchres of martyrs, but the word martyr does not necessarily mean in Muḥammadan hagiography one who has witnessed with

his blood. M'aīnu-d-dīn, for instance, died a natural death.

<sup>3</sup> Perhaps the meaning rather is that the first step for ascetics is the search for truth.





pleasant abode of the cherishing of their subjects. The just sovereign, in accordance with his own lofty understanding, and for the sake of guarding the hearts of the sincere and single-minded, erased the characters of his desire from his heart-tablet.

As there <sup>1</sup> was a necessity for making some arrangement, his right-judging mind determined that an upright and experienced man should be sent to that country in order that, whilst the precious jewel of truth became polished by the spiritual retraction (of purpose), so also might outward performance be effected by means of this deputation. Sultan Khawāja Naqshbandi—who had an abundant portion of the above qualities—was on the day mentioned <sup>2</sup> appointed “Amir-i-Haj” and dispatched. He was given six lakhs of rupees and 12,000 khil’ats in order that he might distribute presents in accordance with the rules of propriety, and also might bestow gifts on those who chose to exile themselves for this long journey. An order was also given that inquiries should be undertaken and a clear list made of the recluses of that country, who from being occupied in looking after their souls, had not leisure to follow professions or handicrafts, and of the other patient paupers of the land. The object of his holy thought was that an enlightened person of the court might be sent every year to that country so that abundant provision might be made from the table of the Shāhinshāh’s bounty for the needy of that country as for the necessitous of other climes. There were various classes of men in this auspicious caravan, and especially those connected with the family of contemplation and enlightenment, and those associated

<sup>1</sup> The sentence is obscure, and perhaps the meaning is that as external circumstances prevented Akbar from going in person, a deputy was appointed. The “spiritual retraction” mentioned in the same sentence is in the original *bāzgasht-i-m’ānavī*, and seems to mean the return of Akbar’s spirit from the Hijāz. Though he did not actually go there, his spirit went, or was going, and then, after the expostulations of his courtiers, his spirit returned.

<sup>2</sup> No day is expressly mentioned. Perhaps the date in question is that on which Akbar left Ajmere, which was 31 Mihr, or 11th October 1576. The *Iqbāl-nāma* however gives the date of Sultan Khawāja’s departure as Thursday 2 Sh’ābān or 25th October 1576. Perhaps however this is the date on which the caravan and the army parted company. The *Iqbāl-nāma* adds that Akbar put on the pilgrim’s dress and that he took S. Khawāja by the hand and made him his deputy.



with demonstration and testimony (*shahūd*). Never before had there been such a coming of seekers of blessing from India to that country.

S'aadat<sup>1</sup> Yār Koka, *Shāh Khwāja*, Malik Maḥmūd, Qāzi 'Imādu-l-mulk, Maulanā 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān Wā'iz<sup>2</sup> (preacher) Mullā 'Abdullāh Wafādār, *Khwāja Ashraf*, *Khwāja Husain* 'Alī Farkhārī, Maulanā Fazlī Naushād, *Shāh Mirzā*, Jamāl Khān Bilūc were among the pilgrims. In his great kindness H.M. ordered that the officers who had been dispatched to Goganda and Īdar should act as escort. The large caravan went by the way of the Haldī pass, and proceeded with the victorious army to Goganda. They passed through the defiles and ridges and reached Panwāra. From that place Qutbu-d-dīn Khān and Rajah Bhagwān Dās and the other soldiers who had been appointed to extirpate the Rānā, turned back and went off to Goganda. When they reached the native country of that ill-fated one, he went off to the pit of contempt and placed the mantle of  
193 concealment on his head. The troops which had been sent off to march to Īdar escorted the pilgrims stage by stage and arrived there on the day of *Amardād* 7 Abān, Divine month. The haughty ones of that country went off to the defiles of the hill-country, but a number of Rājputs took post in temples and houses and resolved to die. A number of heroes such as Hira Bhān, 'Umr<sup>3</sup> Khān Afghan, and Ḥasan Bahādur hastened to extirpate them. The ill-fated ones unsheathed their swords and made ready their spears and came forward to the scene of life-sacrifice. Many of the imperial soldiers turned back, but those above named brought the jewel of firmness to the magnificent market and behaved marvellously. Umr Khān and Ḥasan Bahādur drank the last wholesome draught and went to the paradise of repose. The stiff-necked and ignorant ones fell headlong into the pit of annihilation, and the city together with abundant plunder fell into the hands of the imperial servants, and they occupied themselves in keeping order and in administering justice. From thence

<sup>1</sup> Possibly this is the son or step-son of Gulbadan Begam. See Blochmann 443. Gulbadan B. speaks in her Memoirs of her son S'aadat Yār. If it was he, he died in 1003. A.H. A.N. III. 656. He had a sister Hājī Koka and a brother, whose daughter

married A. F's son 'Abdu-r-Raḥmān, A. N. III. 579.

<sup>2</sup> This is the Transoxiana priest mentioned at p. 74 of text.

<sup>3</sup> It seems probable that this is the father of Daulat K. and grandfather of Khān Jahān Lodī. See Abū Turāb's "History of Gujarat," p. 84





the pilgrim-caravan moved towards Gujarat, and Timur Badakhshī and a number of officers escorted it. On account of the periods being unseasonable for the sea-journey the caravan halted in Ahmadabad.

One of the occurrences was that the far-seeing prince raised Khwāja Shāh Manṣūr Shīrāzī, who was an adept at the mysteries of accounts, to the high office of Vizier. He had formerly been appointed one of the head-officers<sup>1</sup> of the Perfumery department, but owing to his quickness and zeal (*josh-i-rashd*) he had disputes with Mozaffar Khān and was dismissed. After much ill-success he joined Mun'im Khān, and when he came to court about the affairs of Bengal his abilities became conspicuous. When Mun'im Khān died, Rajah Todar Mal on account of questions about accounts imprisoned him and put chains on him. H.M. from his great appreciation of merit sent an order, summoning him to court. At this time, which was the beginning of the smiling of the Spring of dominion, Shāh Manṣūr glorified the forehead of his fortune by prostration on the holy threshold, and without the recommendation of courtiers—which is what helps most men—and without experience—which the experts regard as the evidence for promoting servants—the weight and influence of the Khwāja increased. Though the wide capacity and abounding knowledge of H.M. are independent of the help of a minister (*Dastūr*), and though the brilliance of the wisdom of this unique one of creation puts the ordinary servants of the Sultanate into the straits of inactivity, yet from his appreciative power, and **194** from his shutting his eyes to the shining of his own God-given beauty, he is ever searching for a good man (*sara-i-adam*) and continually expresses by words and acts his wish for such a choice man, and assigns to him the office of a living second soul and a third eye (to Akbar's own). But it is apparent that the incomparable Deity wills that the holy personality of the Shahinshah should come forth from retirement and seclusion, and that the disciplinary laws of mortals—which are fitted to be universal regulations, should come forth from him whom He himself hath made great, and that the world-illuminating beauty of the lord of the earth should be

<sup>1</sup> *I'shrāf-i-īrīyāt*. Apparently his appointment was that of ac-

countant to the department (*Mugh-rif*). See Blochmann 430.



impressed on the hearts of small and great. If such a wise man of wide capacity and the unique of the unequalled court—such as H.M. is looking for—were found, a number of short-sighted persons belonging to the world of formalism would adopt the injurious idea that those great laws emanated from this man's wisdom! Though the wise of the age do not see the propriety of the Unique one of God's having a Vizier, yet as H.M. observes the connection between spiritual and temporal things and preserves both of these high matters, he on the day of Gosh 14 Abān, Divine month, appointed the Khwāja to this high office. Although he possessed no share of the current sciences, yet he was at the head of the first-rate men of the age for excellence in speech and in action, and together with these qualities he had a wide capacity.

One of the occurrences was that when he encamped at the town of Mohī<sup>1</sup> Shihābu-d-dīn Ahmad Khān, Shāh Fakhru-d-dīn Mashhadī, Shāh Budāgh Khān, Muṭṭalib Khān and the officers of the province of Mālwa came and did observance. Each of them was the recipient of favours in accordance with the degree of his loyalty. For some days that spot was made illustrious by the Shāhīnshāh, and the condition of the inhabitants was properly supervised. Bahādurs such as Ghāzī Khān Badakhshi, Sharif K. Atka, Mujāhid K. and Subhān Qulī Turk were left in Mohī, and 'Abdu-r-Rahmān son of Muyīd Beg, and 'Abdu-r-Rahmān the son of Jalālu-d-dīn Beg, and others were left in Madāriya.<sup>2</sup> Similarly, brave men were appointed to other places in order that whenever that wicked strife-monger (Rānā Partāb) should come out of the ravines of disgrace he might suffer retribution. When the holy mind had disposed of the affairs of that region, he on the day of Mihr 16 Āzār, Divine month, proceeded by way of Bānswāla (Bānswāra) towards Mālwa. His whole wish was that the country might obtain justice by the blessing of his advent, and that the general community might, under the shadow of his graciousness, obtain rest and repose.

195 One of the occurrences was that Quṭbu-d-dīn K. and Rajah Bhagwant Dās were censured. The brief account of this is that the leaders of the army of fortune had reached the abode of the Rānā. As no trace could be found of that turbulent one, they hastily, and

<sup>1</sup> Mohanī of Badayūnī.

<sup>2</sup> J. II. 274. It was in Sarkār Citor.





without orders, came to court on hearing of the approach of the royal standards. As the observance of the orders of the Sultanate rests, in the first place, on great commanders, and in the second on the inferior servants, they were excluded from the bliss of doing homage and were reproved. When they showed signs of penitence (lit. when the characters of repentance were clear in the lines of their foreheads to correct readers of such marks), and had made confession of their shortcomings, they were permitted to present themselves.

One of the occurrences was that while the sublime cortège was passing through Udaipur, reports came from Gujarat to the effect that a set of ignorant persons had vexed the pilgrims by frightening them about the officers of the Feringhi ports. Though their pure highnesses<sup>1</sup> were addressing them with words of wisdom, and the

<sup>1</sup> *Ḥazrāt Qadsī*, lit. holy Presences: cf. *Ḥazrāt Begamān* A.N. 66, 1. 5. I think this expression must refer to Gulbadan Begam and the ladies who accompanied her on pilgrimage. If it does not refer to them it must mean either the holy persons such as Sultan *Khawājā* and the Maulvis who were with the pilgrims, or some other noble ladies who were in the caravan. But I am doubtful if the phrase "holy Presences" would be applied to Sultan K. and the Maulvis, and we do not hear that any ladies of high rank, except Gulbadan B. and her party, went on pilgrimage at this time. Then also there were two ships engaged, and one, the *Selīmī*, was only for the ladies. Surely only ladies of Gulbadan B. and other Begams' rank would be allowed the privilege of a separate ship. The difficulty is that Gulbadan and her party left *Fatḥpūr* long before the caravan, but then *Badayūnī* tells us that they were detained for a year in

Gujarat. This would give time for the caravan to come up with them. According to *Badayūnī*, text II. 213, Gulbadan B. and her party left Agra in 982, and he also seems to say that they reached Mecca in *Sh'abān*, 983. But what I think he means is that they sailed from *Surat* in *Sh'abān*, and also I think there must be a mistake in his dates and that 982 and 983 should be 983 and 984, unless indeed his 982 only refers to the end of that year and to the journey from Agra to *Fatḥpūr*. Certainly A. F. says, III. 145, that Gulbadan B. and her party left *Fatḥpūr* in the end of *Mīhr* of the 20th year, i.e., about the middle of October 1575 or *Sh'abān* 983. *Nizāmū-d-dīn* also, *Elliot* V. 391, puts the departure into the 20th year, and he seems to connect it with the appointment of a *Mir Hāj*. If then, as *Badayūnī* says, Gulbadan B. and her party had to wait a year in Gujarat, they would not sail till October 1576 or *Sh'abān* 984. *Badayūnī* says that they performed four



imperial officers were encouraging them, the generality refused to be comforted. In his great kindness H.M.<sup>1</sup> could not allow this company of voluntary exiles to be left in distress. Accordingly he summoned Qulij Khān, who held several of the parts of Gujarat, to come to him by relays<sup>2</sup> of horses from the camp at Īdar, and then he sent him off to Gujarat in order that he might go as far as the seashore and soothe and assist the pilgrims.

[The Iqbāl-nāma seems to clear up the difficulty about the ladies having started long before the caravan, for it says expressly that Qulij K. arranged for the departure in the ship Selīmī of "the chaste ladies of the harem who had started before" (the caravan).]

By the might of the good fortune of the Shāhīnshāh he in a short space of time performed that excellent service. The secluded ladies<sup>3</sup> of the court of chastity sailed in the ship Selīmī, and Sultan

hajās or pilgrimages, and that they spent a year at Aden on account of their having been shipwrecked, and returned in 992 (1584). A. F. says, III. 385, that they spent 3½ years in the Hījāz and were detained for seven months, on the return voyage, at Aden. If they left Surat in Shāhān 984 they probably would be in time for the Haj which took place in the last month of that year. The other three hajās would be those of 985-87. 988 began in February 1580, and this might bring them to Aden in April of that year where Bayāzīd found them. (A. S. B. J., vol. 66, Part I, for 1898).

<sup>1</sup> Possibly the meaning is that the ladies could not leave the other pilgrims behind.

<sup>2</sup> *basp-yām*. The text wrongly has *bām*. See P. de Courteille's Dict. Seeing that Qulij K. was at Īdar in Ahmadabad Sarkār, J. II. 252, and only 40 kos from Ahmadabad (Badāyūnī II. 241), and that Akbar

was at Udaipār, one might have expected that the order would have directed Qulij K. to proceed direct from Īdar to Surāt. But it appears from Nizāmu-d-dīn, Elliot V. 403 and 404, that Qulij was brought to Akbar by the messenger, who was 'Alī Murād Uzbeg (Badāyūnī II. 243), and that the meeting took place in Banswāra. From there Qulij K. went to Surat and with the assistance of a Cambay merchant named Kalyān Rai got passes for the ships and had them dispatched.

<sup>3</sup> I think this must be Gulbadan and the other ladies. It appears, Elliot V. 402, that the vessels sailed from Surat. According to Nizāmu-d-dīn 336 and Badāyūnī II. 242 the difficulty was about getting passports (*qaul*) from the Portuguese. Qulij K. with the help of Kalyān Rai arranged matters. Badāyūnī says, II. 242, that Kalyān Rai was a *baqāl* (shop-keeper) of Cambay.





Khawāja and the other officers made the voyage in the ship Ilāhī. The Christian rulers and the chiefs of every country regarded the advent (of the pilgrims) as an honour and gathered the materials of eternal bliss.

One of the occurrences was that while the splendour of the august standards was casting glorious rays on the territory of Bānswāra, Rāūl Pertāp the head of that district—who was always stubborn—and Rāūl Askaran ruler of Dūngarpūr and other turbulent spirits of that country came and paid the prostration of repentance. Inasmuch as H.M.'s nature is to accept excuses, and to cherish the humble, he accepted the shame of their having rendered little service, at the rate of good service, and took the life, the honour and the country of this faction under the protection of his justice and kindness. They were exalted by special favours.

One of the occurrences was that the Mīrzāda 'Alī Khān' came and did homage. He brought 65 elephants out of the spoils of the eastern provinces, and gave wonderful accounts of those regions and of the good services of the devotees of their lives. There was cause for thanksgiving to the unequalled Creator. 196

One of the occurrence was that troops were appointed to Goganda. At this time it came to the august hearing that the Rānā had again made the hills and defiles means for turbulence and was engaged in evil thoughts. On the day of Dībmīhr 15 Dai, Divine month, Rajah Bhagwant Dās, Kūār Mān Singh, M. Khān the son of Bairām K., Qāsim K. Mīrbahar, and a number of experienced men went off to that country. By the great attention of the Shāhinshāh that country was cleared from the thorn-brake of rebellion, and adorned by just subjects.

One of the occurrences was that Rajah Todar Mal and 'Itmād K. Khwājasarā arrived in Bānswāra from Bengal and did homage. They presented glorious spoils of that county—among them were 304 noted elephants—and praised the wondrous and daily-increasing fortune as shown in the success of the imperial servants, the failure of foes, the cleansing of the country from ingrates, and the repose of the inhabitants.



One of the occurrences was that in Dipālpūr, Rahmān Qulī K. Qūshbegī (falconer) arrived from the Hijāz and did homage. He produced before H.M. the petitions of the Sharīfs and other officers of that country. H.M. stayed some days in that neighbourhood for disposing of various matters of administration.

One of the occurrences was the mission of Rajah Bīrbar and Rai Lankaran to Dūngarpūr. The brief account of this is that the Rajah of that place had from his good fortune petitioned through some intimates of the court that his daughter—who was one of the distinguished of the age for chastity and wisdom—might be included among the palatial servants (*i.e.*, might be married to Akbar). In this way a rare jewel would find its proper place, and also a great help would be given to his (the Rajah's) relations. H.M. had regard to his loyalty and granted his request. Those two confidential servants were given leave in order that they might convey in a choice manner the secluded one to the harem of fortune.

197

One of the occurrences was that on the day of Farwardīn 19 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, a report came from Rai Rai Singh, announcing the conquest of Sirohī and the taking of Abūgarh.<sup>1</sup> The brief account of this is that the Rai of Sirohī Sultan Deorah from his ill-fate, and native savagery, came to his own country with an evil intention. At a signal from H.M., Rai Rai Singh, Saiyid Hāshim and other servants went to conquer that country, and to punish that evil-disposed person. They began by entering the country and by besieging him. As the fort was strong, and he was without calculating reason, he thought that the lofty hills would protect him, and his arrogance increased. The warriors took up their abode there and proceeded to act leisurely instead of rapidly. Rai Rai Singh sent for his family from his home. He whose fortune was slumbrous (the Rai of Sirohī) attacked the caravan on the road with a number of determined men. Many Rajputs who were with the convoy and under the leadership of Raimal fought bravely and there was a great fight. Many fell on both sides, but by the blessing of daily-increasing fortune that audacious highlander was defeated and became a vagabond in the desert of failure. He abandoned Sirohī and went off to Abūgarh. That country (Sirohī) came, by the excellent conduct of the servants, to be in-





cluded in the imperial dominions, and they hastened towards Abūgarh.<sup>1</sup> The real name of this place is Arbūdā Acal (here A. F. spells the words), and it had been converted by men's tongues and by time into Abūgarh. They say that Arbuda is the name of a spirit who comes in a female form to guide those who have gone astray in the desert of search. Acal means a hill, and the idea is that that pure form is specially associated with the place. Abūgarh is near Sirōhī, and on the borders of Ajmere towards Gujarat. Its extent is about seven kos. On the top of the hill the Rānā built in former times a sky-high fortress. The road to it is very difficult. There are springs of good water, and sweet-water wells, and there is sufficient cultivation to support the garrison. There are various flowers and odoriferous plants, and the air is very pleasant. Wealthy people have for the sake of spiritual welfare erected temples and shrines there. The victorious bands came to the fort by the aid of daily-increasing fortune, and so strong a fortress, such as great princes would have found it difficult to conquer, came into the hands of this party of loyalists with little effort. S. Deorah was bewildered by the majesty of the Sultanate of the Shāhinshāh and fell to supplications. He took refuge with the auspicious servants, and made the key of the fort the means of opening the knot of his fortune, by delivering it to them. Rai Rai Singh left the fort in charge of able men, and proceeded to court along with the Rai of Sirōhī.

One of the occurrences was the sending the army of fortune to Khāndesh. Rajah 'Alī Khān, the ruler of that country, being backed up by the other rulers of the Deccan, was remiss in his obedience and service. The world's lord, in his abundant graciousness which shows itself to high and low, appointed on the day of 198 Bahrām 20 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, a suitable army under the charge of Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad Khān, to proceed to that province. Qutbu-d-dīn Khān, Shuj'aāt, Baqī K., Naurang K., M. Nijāt K., 'Alī Dost K. and many others were appointed to this service. The order given was that they were in the first instance to address awakening words to the slumbrous in the desert of folly and to bring them to the city of truth, and make them flower-

<sup>1</sup> B. 358, n. 1, and J. II. 251. It is Mount Abu.





gatherers in the garden of good service. If from an evil star they remained in slumber, the troops were to exert themselves to clear off the rust from those darkened ones by the flashings of Indian swords. They were to make over the country to just and disinterested men, and to protect the subjects generally, who are a trust from God.

One of the occurrences was that Rajah Todar Mal was dispatched to the province of Gujarat. When it came to the august hearing that that territory was in a disturbed state owing to the carelessness of Wazir K., he bade skilful and trusty men to go there quickly and endeavour to put it into order with the aid of the officers of the country. He hastened there and showed the jewel of his abilities to mankind. The inhabitants and the visitors to the province enjoyed prosperity.

One of the occurrences was that Shāhbāz K. came to Dipālpūr from the eastern provinces with the success due to his good services, and did homage. When the capture of Rohtās, his victory over Gajpatī and his other good services became known to H.M., an order was issued that he should make over Rohtās to Muhibb 'Alī K., and come to court. On the day of Ashtād 26 Isfandārmaz, Divine month, he rubbed the forehead of devotion on the threshold of fortune, and was exalted and encompassed by royal favours. As H.M. was desirous that the world-conquering armies should proceed with all expedition to the Deccan, and make that land a station of peace and a centre of justice, he signified to him that he should see to the equipment of the army and put it on a proper footing. He performed this service in accordance with the order and made the kornish when H.M. was at the capital.

One of the occurrences was the conquest of Īdar. It has already been mentioned that when the star of the Rai of that country sank into the horizon of ruin, H.M., by constraint of the principle that just princes are the physicians of the world, and the hakīms of horizons, sent thither an army of strenuous men. If conciliatory language had no effect they were to erase the picture of his existence from the page of creation. The ignorant man in his baseness and wickedness made the admonitions a cause of obstinacy. When Qulij Khān was called away to the ports of Gujrat, he (the Rai of Īdar) indulged in worse thoughts, and by his own efforts became stained with the dust of dishonour. The brief account of





this heavenly aid is as follows. The Rai made those two things **199** (the admonitions and departure of Qulij K.) a cause of increased presumption, and let a veil fall over his vision. In a short time his senselessness became intoxication, and from his not seeing the wondrous and daily-increasing fortune (of Akbar), Āsā Rāwal collected some daring men, and came out of the defiles to deliver battle. The imperial servants went to meet him. On the night of Gosh 14 Isfandarmaz, Divine month, they left Sher K. with a body of troops to guard the camp and proceeded to the field of battle. Khwāja Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Aṣaf K. commanded in the centre. Timur Badakhshī commanded the right wing, and Mir Abu-l-laiṣ the left wing. M. Muqīm Naqshbandī, Nūr Qulij, Dhīra Parmān, Mir Ghīāṣu-d-dīn and others were in the van. Shimāl K., Gadā Ālī and others formed an ambush (kamīn-gāh). The enemy formed two bands and came on quickly. M. Muqīm and some of the āzīs of the van displayed activity, and Moẓaffar advanced from the centre. The brave men of the victorious army loosed their rein and rushed to do battle. The daring Rajpūts made ready their spears and encountered them. There were wondrous hand-to-hand combats. The jewel of courage was brought to the test and acquired fresh brilliancy.

*Verse.*

Drums thundered, the battle began,  
Swords were drawn, heroes strove.  
Blood flowed like wine, their cries were the orchestra,  
Daggerhilts were the cups, arrows the dessert (naql).

In spite of being wounded in the arm Nūr Qulij did not restrain his hand from battle. Moẓaffar fell to the ground from the onset of the Rajpūts, but was rehersed by brave men. Dhīra Parmān behaved courageously. During this contest the van was put into disorder, but the abovenamed preserved their honour and stood, sacrificing their lives. M. Muqīm drank the wholesome sherbet of death, and Quṭb K. one of his companions also played away the coin of his life. At the time when the van was discomfited the victorious troops pressed forward. The foe did what they could, but had to fly. The imperial servants, by the blessing of daily-increasing aids, **200** became successful in the midday of despair, and exulted joyfully.





When the news of victory reached the august ear he returned thanks to God. The courageous servants were distinguished by royal favours.

---





## CHAPTER XXXV.

BEGINNING OF THE 22ND DIVINE YEAR, VIZ. THE YEAR DAI OF  
THE SECOND CYCLE.

The justice-loving sovereign performed the devotions of the solitary and the social state in the vicinity of Dīpālpūr under the veil of hunting, and produced harmony between the material and the spiritual life. He gave inward rank to what was external. The joyousness of the equable spring disclosed the face of delight, and the courts of bliss were thrown open. The time of largesses received new lustre. On the night of Monday 20 Zi-l-haja (11 March 1577) after seven hours, twelve minutes, the sun cast his rays upon Aries .....

*Verse.*

By the writing of power the world became like the picture  
gallery of Mānī,<sup>1</sup>

The garden by wisdom's light became like the thought of  
Avicenna,

You'd say the earth from joy was like the sky,

You'd say the sky bloomed like a garden.

One of the occurrences was the departure of Māhī<sup>2</sup> Begam to the spiritual world. That nursling of the rose-garden of the Caliphate was the grand-child of Rāwal Harrāj the ruler of Jaisalmīr. Regarding the dust-bin of the earth as a granary of grief, she on 18 Farwardīn, Divine month (28 March 1577), turned her face from the outer world, and did not gather flowers in a fading garden for a 201 longer space than a year.

<sup>1</sup> The painter and heretic. There is an account of him, taken from Khwandamīr, in Meninski pref., p. 57, ed. 1780.

<sup>2</sup> This was a daughter of Akbar. There is no mention of her in the T. A. Nor is the name of her mother known.



*Verse.*

Deep is the ocean round this isle,  
Black the earth and dark the water :  
By the departure of that flower of paradise,  
The boat was broke in the wave of the heart.

The ladies displayed much grief and shed many tears. How shall I write of the state of the world's lord ? It comes not within the mould of description ! From the grief which that fountain of graciousness used to feel for the deaths of the children of his servants, the acute may in some measure conjecture what he felt for the death of his own child. But he infolded himself with patience, and chose the pleasant abode of composure.

*Verse.*

May the King live for ever in good fortune.  
May there be to him the freshness of tiara and throne.

In the beginning of this glorious year the fortress of Būndī<sup>1</sup> was taken, and Daudā the son of Rai Surjan received his deserts. Previously an army had been sent against him, but as it appeared that this force did not act honestly, Zain Khān Kokāltāsh was sent off on this service from Rāmpūr on the day of Bahrām, 20 Farwardīn, Divine month, corresponding to 10 Muharram 985 (30 March 1577). There were sent with him Rai Surjan the father of Daudā, Bhoj his brother, Rām Cand, Karm Sai, and others. An order was also given that the officers formerly employed in this service should co-operate and exert themselves in carrying out the work. In a short time the fortress of Būndī was taken, and Daudā betook himself to the ravines of the hill-country. When the country had obtained repose, Zain K. Koka, by H.M.'s orders, left Bhōj and other warriors to protect it, and proceeded to court in company with Rai Surjan. At the first stage he heard that there were disturbances in the country and was obliged to return. The brief account of this is as follows: Many of the soldiers had fallen into poverty from staying long in that hill-country, and when the Koka went off, the evil-disposed portion of the army raised a report that Daudā was coming, and

<sup>1</sup> Rajputana Gazetteer, I. 203.





set about plundering. The Urdū bazār (camp-market) and much of the city were sacked. The officers out of fear and ignorance were on the point of coming away. The Kokaltāsh returned and took up his quarters there. By the Divine help and by wisdom he got the upper hand over pleasure and preferred hidden service 202 to personally waiting upon H.M. He despatched Rai Surjan to court with some spices<sup>1</sup> (*maṣāliḥ*) and set about putting the country into order. Neither outward want of equipment nor the general want of heart affected him, and the dust of dissension was at once laid. Joy returned to the despondent, and the wicked gossips sunk into contempt, while the rebellious received proper punishment. On the day of Gosh, 14 Ardibihisht, Divine month, the fort of Ranthanbhor became the seat of the tents of victory. The world's lord ascended the castle and reposed for a time in the palace of Rai Surjan. From thence he proceeded to Fathpūr, and when he arrived there the high officers did homage, and every one was the recipient of favours. On the night of 31 Ardibihisht, Divine month, the city received glory from his advent.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Zain K. Koka at court, and his communicating to H.M. the account of his victory. It has already been mentioned that he took up his quarters in Būndī and applied himself to clearing out the places in that country. Many of the soldiers had from the deficiency of means of livelihood taken to evil courses. That turbulent one (*Daudā*) whose fortune was somnolent did not pay attention to the wondrous fortune of the *Shāhinshāh*, and did not take into account the victorious troops, and grew presumptuous. He collected some vagabonds and raised the standard of insolence on the top of the hill of Ūtgardan (camel's neck). That is a lofty hill and one difficult to surmount. His sole idea was that he might take advantage of an opportunity and do some damage to the victorious camp. Zain K. Koka arranged his warriors in three bands and pushed forward. He inspired many warriors to advance to the heights, and he himself

<sup>1</sup> *Maṣāliḥ* means spices, but its occurrence is somewhat curious. The word also means employments, and the meaning here may be that Sur-

jan was sent on some business to court. Or perhaps the word is used instead of *maṣāliḥguṣār* and means peace-makers.





together with Rai Bhōj and with the assistance of the mountaineers  
fared bravely forward. They had passed through the defiles and  
come near the summit, when the enemy became aware of them  
and made an advance. There was a fire of musketry, and by the  
blessing of the daily-increasing fortune three noted men among  
the foe were slain. The others gave way. On seeing the glory  
of the Divine aid the Koka pressed on still more, and when the base  
203 one (Daudā) was with a party of audacious ones making a dis-  
turbance, he arrived at the spot, and there was a hot engagement.

*Verse.*

From the arrows and shields that were displayed,  
No longer a desert, it became a flower-garden.  
The violet-swords gleamed,  
The ensigns robbed the eye of sight.

By good fortune and a happy star the foe became blistered  
of foot in the stony tract of failure. A hundred and twenty of their  
noted men fell in that engagement. The haughty and presumptuous  
mountaineer was defeated. When the country was cleared of the  
dust of rebellion it was given in charge to Rai Bhōj. Zain Khān  
did homage and was encompassed with royal favours.

Among the occurrences was the revision<sup>1</sup> of the management  
of the treasury. By the orders of King Wisdom, the care of  
property, and the increase of finances are, in the code of princes,  
a choice form of the Divine worship of the capital of the social  
state. Though the sublime genius of the world's lord addresses  
itself, in consequence of his position as caravan-leader of the  
spiritual world, to the true object of worship, and has erased  
fictitious pictures from the portico of his vision, yet he regards  
the observance of the rules of the outer world—which are the  
adornment of lofty minds—as right and proper, just as secular  
princes do. From such practice no dust settles upon his holy  
environment, nor does any mist arise in the rose-garden of his  
One-ness. Hence it is that the religion of this unique one of  
creation, unlike the devotion of worldly contemplators, needs no

<sup>1</sup> The first examination of the  
treasuries was made by I'tmād K.

B. 13 and n. There were no less than  
twelve treasuries, id. 14.





supplementing.<sup>1</sup> Every portion of the time of this celestial walker runs over with supplications and peculiar devotions, and produces in the outer world without the veil of hesitation or delay, the calm which is the proper condition of the social state. Šādiq K., Khwāja Shāh Maṣṣūr and some other honest and able men—who were abodes of trust, and balances (*qistās*) of knowledge—were sent from Fathpūr to Agra in order that they might inspect the public treasuries and test the treasurers and accountants, and custodians. On thorough inquiry the officials were found to be upright and were rewarded by favours and confidence.

---

<sup>1</sup> *Qaṣa nādarud*. For *Qaṣa* see Hughes' *Diet. of Islam*. It is pray-

ing or fasting to make up for omissions.



CHAPTER XXXV.

(This chapter begins with the account of the appointment of S'aid Khān<sup>1</sup> to be atāliq or tutor to Sulṭān Daniel.) The author indulges in a page of rhetoric about the qualifications necessary for such an office. He then proceeds to say, "S'aid K. accepted with thanksgiving this great boon, and made great feasts, and tendered suitable presents. His quarters were made glorious by the advent of the prince.")

205 One of the occurrences was an outbreak of pimples in the body of Prince Sulṭān Selim.) This began on 12 Khurdād, Divine month, and was accompanied by fever. The loving lord bent in meditation over the pillow of the nursing of fortune's garden and read in the pages of fate that he would be cured. So also did the ascetics, the astrologers, and the soothsayers, give tidings of joy. But as skilful physicians were not confident in diagnosing the disease, the ladies of the harem and the servants in general were not reassured. During this state of suspense an eruption (*judarī*) showed itself, and the physicians also now said that he would recover. In a short time it dried up, and a feast was held in honour of his recovery. The world rejoiced, and the auspicious gained knowledge about H.M.'s acquaintance with hidden things, and made the prostration of benediction.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of letters from the Nizām-al-mulk of the Deccan along with presents from that country. Bāqī<sup>2</sup> K. had been sent to him as the bearer of valuable counsels, and he on receiving the orders of the imperial court sent his trusty servant Wafā K. along with Bāqī K. On the day of Dai ba mihr, 15 Khurdād, Divine month, they performed the kornish, and noted elephants and rarities of the country were produced before H.M.

<sup>1</sup> B. 331.

<sup>2</sup> So in text, but I. O. MSS. and the Iqbāl-nāma have Šānī Khān, and this is probably right. Šānī K. was

a Persian and a Shi'a, and so likely to be acceptable to the Aḥmadnagar court, see B. 476. whereas Bāqī K. was a Sunnī.





One of the occurrences was that Shaikh<sup>1</sup> Jamāl Bakhtiyār was saved from danger of his life by the blessing of the holy spirit of H.M. In this saltpit of a world it has long been usual that when a ruler admits some favourite to his intimacy, his real friends and well-wishers assist in his advancement, while a number of ill-conditioned servants, and enemies in the guise of friends, are, owing to the disease of envy, ever striving to throw down the chosen one. He, however, by the blessing of his special connection (with the ruler) rejoices in the Divine protection. In accordance with this blameworthy custom many narrow-minded and envious ones were annoyed by the elevation of the Shaikh and took advantage of the carelessness of the butler to poison his drink. As soon as he swallowed it, there was a change in his condition. Dārāb,<sup>2</sup> who was one of H.M.'s prominent servants, out of friendship drank some of the same fluid, and he too at once fell into a confused state. They remained for a day and night in a dangerous condition. When H.M. heard of this he employed medical remedies, and also somewhat of spiritual medicines, and by the blessing of his 206 attentions they recovered.

One of the occurrences was an increase of the disturbance of Mozaffar Husain M. When the world-conquering standards displayed the conquest of Gujarāt, each of the Mirzās received his punishment and was an outcast in the desert of ruin. Gulrukh Sulṭān Begam, the mother of Mozaffar Husain, by skill and strenuous exertions, carried off the inexperienced boy to the Deccan, as has already been related. As he had turned away his face from the altar of fortune, the stewards of fate stained him with the dust of despair. As in that country (the Deccan) the thorn of unsuccess entered the foot of his desires, he, at the instigation of some evil-

<sup>1</sup> B. 425. B. says his sister was superintendent of Akbar's Harem but the Maasir II. 564 says that she was one of Akbar's wives. At p. 266 it says she was *sar-āmad mahalāt*, which probably means that she was chief wife, or favourite. Her name was *Gohara-n-nisā*.

<sup>2</sup> There is the variant Rūp, and

this is the name given in Maasir, II. 566, and in both the I. O. MSS., Dārāb looks like a title and an inversion of *ābdār*. He is perhaps the Rūp Khwāṣ of Jahangir's Mem. (Price's translation), p. 35. He is there mentioned as a man of great courage, but an incorrigible drunkard. He was a Muḥammadan.





disposed persons, perceived Gujarat to be vacant and proceeded thither. The tongues of the praters of futilities in the by-lanes waxed long. When H.M. heard of this occurrence, he, on the day of Mihr,<sup>1</sup> 16 Khurdād, Divine month, issued an order that the high officers should regard the suppression of the disturbances in Gujarāt as of more importance than the conquest of Khāndes, and should proceed to the former place. That crew from their being unable to comprehend the daily-increasing fortune of the Shāhin-shāh, considered that the performance of the service (of conquering Khāndes) was beyond their capacity and so were procrastinating. Moreover, the ebullition of cupidity had come to such a pitch that they thought that they could by talking largely get money from the rulers of the country and lay foundations of a peace. By such political treachery, which in fact was the digging up the foundation of their own happiness, they thought to gild the palace-roof<sup>2</sup> of their fortunes.

*Verse.*

Aha for the vain thought, Aha for the impossible fancy!

They were whispering such disloyal things in Bijāgarh when the holy mandate arrived. They blessed their good luck a thousand times at having gained their object, and every one of the crew went off to his fief. As their intent was polluted, the work which they had rejected<sup>3</sup> was successfully carried out without their assistance. Why did they grieve<sup>4</sup> and lose courage? If grief had seized those

<sup>1</sup> The two I. O. MSS. and the Cawnpore ed. have "Zamīyād, the 28th Khurdād."

<sup>2</sup> Referring to the proverb about destroying the foundation and ornamenting the roof.

<sup>3</sup> The expression *khidmat-i-marjū*, lit. "the returned service," is obscure. Perhaps it means the service in Gujarāt, and the sense is that this work was after all done without their help. It might also possibly mean that the service of returning from Bijāgarh was successfully accomplished

without the assistance of Qutb-d-dīn and the others who had gone off hastily to their fiefs in Gujarāt.

<sup>4</sup> Apparently the officers were distressed about the disturbances in Gujarat. A. F. asks why were they distressed? They had gained their object, viz. to get money from the rulers of the Deccan, and there was no time for lamenting that they had not conquered the country as they could not do so then, and the opportunity for the conquest had not come. Moreover the failure had been





shortsighted shopkeepers because they had let drop from their hands the guiding-thread of their trade, it would have been intelligible. But where at that moment was the time or the opportunity for this? The rulers of the Deccan, who had been made uneasy by the approach of the world-conquering troops, obtained repose, and from far-sightedness they did not content themselves with what they had given to the officers, but also sent the rarities of the country along with diplomatic men to the sovereign court.

the result of their own misconduct. A. F. seems to be referring especially to Qutbu-d-din K. who, according to the T. A. Elliot, V. 406, left the other Amirs and went off to his *jāgīrs* of Broach and Baroda on account of the inroad of Mozaffar

Husain. See also Badayūnī, Lowe, 257. The expression "Where at that moment was the time or opportunity for sorrow?" perhaps means that the officers had got what they wanted, viz. bribes.





## CHAPTER XXXVI.

THE GLORIFICATION OF THE BATTLEFIELD BY THE SWORDS OF WAZĪR K.  
AND RAJAH TODAR MAL, AND THE DEFEAT OF MOZAFFAR HUSAIN M.

(This chapter begins with the usual reflections about the misery of every one who dared to oppose Akbar. The author then proceeds to mention the case of Mozaffar Husain as a fresh instance of this).

207 The brief account of this event is as follows: Wazir K. was not efficient in the matters of organizing the soldiers, comforting the weak, and extirpating evil-doers. Before this catastrophe (of Mozaffar H.) occurred, H.M. had sent to this province Rajah Todar Mal who was one of the unique of the world for ability, service and courage. He was to exert himself in the task and was to compose the distractions of the province. The Rajah quickly arrived there and strove in a laudable manner to give the country repose. He first went to Sultānpūr and Nadurbār and made proper arrangements. After that he settled the affairs of Surat. Then he transacted the affairs of Broach, Baroda and Campanir and came to Ahmadabad. He was, in conjunction with Wazir K., engaged in administering justice there when the tumult of disaffection rose high. Mihr Āli Kūlābī, who was a servant of Ibrāhīm Husain, joined with some other evil-disposed persons like himself and brought that inexperienced youth from the Deccan to Gujarāt. They kindled the spark of sedition in the neighbourhood of Sultānpūr. Some of the comrades of 'Ārif and Zāhid, the sons of Sharif<sup>1</sup> K., placed the stain of infidelity on their foreheads and joined Mihr Āli. When he came to the neighbourhood of Baroda, the *dārogha* (police-officer) of the city lost courage and left the place, and that great city was lost without a battle. Bāz<sup>2</sup> Bahādur came out with a force, but owing to the baseness of his servants he could effect nothing. Wazir K. was preparing to shut himself up in Ahmadābād, but

<sup>1</sup> B. 383 Bāz Bahādur is the only son of Sharif mentioned by B.

<sup>2</sup> B. 465.





Rajah Todar Mal with the help of the Shāhīnshāh's fortune exerted himself to clear up affairs. He came out of the walls and prepared for battle. He marched towards Baroda, and when he encamped within four kos of the town (*qaṣba*), the enemy lost heart and went off towards Cambay without giving battle. The victorious army slowly followed them. The enemy learned the state of affairs and recovered courage and halted near Cambay and raised a disturbance. Saiyid Hāshim<sup>1</sup> the Khālṣa 'āmil came out at first and showed praiseworthy vigour; but on account of the great number of the enemy he had to take shelter. When the imperial forces approached, the enemy abandoned the siege and hastened to Jūnagarh. On the day of Zamīyād, 28 Khurdād, Divine month, the officers arrived in the territory of Dūlaqa and adorned the battlefield. Wazīr K. commanded the centre; Khwāja Yahyā Naqshbandī, Wajīha-ul-mulk, and others ornamented the right wing; Rajah Todar Mal, Rūp Rai Gujrātī, Shāikh Walī, Bipāk Dās, and some brave men were on the left wing. As cowardice and double-facedness darkened the condition of the army, the enemy turned, and planted the foot of courage. Their whole idea was that as soon as the forces were face to face, most of the imperialists would join them, while some would take to flight, and that Wazīr K., and the Rajah, and some others would be killed. Their great endeavour was to dispose of (*dar cāra-garī*) the Rajah, for they knew that in his force there were men who were enemies of their own lives, but friends of their honour. Accordingly the Mīrzā proceeded in a languid manner against Wazīr K., while Mīhr 'Alī, who was the substance of the sedition, went against the Rajah with the cream of his troops.

*Verse.*

When army encountered army,  
The combatants advanced on each side.  
So hot was the fire of battle  
That sparks came from the horses' hoofs.

The Rajah stood firm and showed the countenance of victory.  
The heroes displayed devotion and thanksgiving to God. Eighteen



noted men among the foe went to annihilation, and after much fighting the enemy cast away his honour at the "Avaunt" of the Shāhīnshāh's fortune. He was defeated in the most shameful manner. The soldiers of the right wing had fled without making a proper fight. Most of the centre behaved in the same way. Wazir K. with a few loyalists exhibited devotion, and his life was  
 209 nearly ended in good service. Suddenly Rajah Todar Mal arrived with a thousand hearts after having defeated his opponents. All at once the woof and web of the presumptuous evil-doers were severed. Many were killed and many were caught by the lasso of disgrace. Mozaffar Husain M. hastened away to Jūnagarh with a few men of ruined fortunes.

*Verse.*

Whoever survived retired in such fashion  
 That he must needs be sorry that he lived.

There was a great victory, and much plunder fell into the hands of the victorious officers. (Here follow some twelve lines of rhetoric about the advantages of fidelity). They sent reports to H.M. together with choice elephants along with Dhārū.<sup>1</sup> There was much thanksgiving to God after receiving the news of this great boon, and there was general rejoicing. At this time also there arrived the ambassador of Sultan <sup>2</sup> Husain M. from Qandahar. They performed the prostration. The gist of the embassy was the renewal of the bonds of friendship and service. The appreciative sovereign granted the desires of the ambassadors and gave them leave to return.

One of the occurrences was the sending of soldiers to guide aright Rajah Madhūkar.<sup>3</sup> It is a rule of administration and world-government that the infatuated and presumptuous should be brought to their senses by reproof and chastisement, and be guided to the path of service, and that the garden of sovereignty should be made

<sup>1</sup> Todar Mal's son, B. 352 and 465.

<sup>2</sup> Son of Bahrām M. and nephew of Shāh Tahmāsp. B. 313, who says he died in 984. Apparently this should be 985. 984 is the date given in the Maasir, III. 296.

<sup>3</sup> B. 356 and 488. R. Madhūkar was a Bundela and chief of Undeah (Orcha). He was the father of Bir Singh, the murderer of A. F.





verdant by increasing the honour and dignity of the awakened-hearted, so that both the obedient and the recalcitrant may receive their deserts, and that supplication and thanksgiving to God may **210** be properly performed. Accordingly, as at this time the afore-said zamindar had, owing to the extent of his country, the number of evil and daring dependants, the inaccessibility of his territory, the want of wisdom and the friendship of flatterers, deserted the highway of obedience, and become a traverser of the desert of destruction, Šādiq K., Rajah Askaran,<sup>1</sup> the Mōtha Rajah,<sup>2</sup> Ulugh K.<sup>3</sup> Ḥabshī and other heroes were, on the day of Ormuzd, 1 Tir, Divine month, nominated to arouse that haughty highlander from the sleep of ignorance.

One of the occurrences was the sending of Dastam K. to the government of Ajmere. H.M. perceived in him the indications of subject-cherishing and justice, and so increased his dignity. He assigned the Sarkār of Ranthambor to him as his fief, and sent him away to protect the province.

.....

.....

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Rai Lonkaran<sup>4</sup> and Rajah Bīrbar. It has been mentioned that these two trustworthy servants had been sent from Dībālpūr to do honour to the Rai of Dūngarpūr. On the day of Rām 21 Tir, Divine month, they returned and conveyed the chaste pearl to the holy harem. Society was adorned, and the spiritual world ornamented. The unique pearl arrived at the treasury of truth, and a great support was provided for the family.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the ambassadors of Shahrukh M. That cupola of chastity the Khānim, who was the Mirzā's mother, had from farsightedness and intelligence perceived

<sup>1</sup> B. 458. He was an uncle of Bhagwān Dās.

<sup>2</sup> The "fat Rajah." His name was Udai Singh and he was a son of Māldao. B. 429.

<sup>3</sup> B. 437.

<sup>4</sup> This is a nickname meaning the salt-maker because he was Rajah of the Sāmbhar lake. They had gone to bring the Rajah of Dūngarpūr's daughter to Akbar to become his wife.



the characters of spiritual rule, and the letter of the enlightenment of the outer world on the holy forehead of the Shāhīngshāh, and had formed a close intimacy with him from her early years. But she was terrified on account of the proceedings of M. Sulaimān, and did not know what impression he might have made on H.M. or what representations word-spinners might have made to him. She thought that anything which had displeased that material  
**211** and spiritual ruler would injure the honour and life of Shahrukh M. She thought also that if H.M. considered her to be the cause of the disturbance she would be disgraced for ever. In the bottom of her heart too was the idea that the world's lord might take the Mīrzā for his son<sup>1</sup> and exalt him. 'Abdu-r-Rahmān Beg and M. 'Ashaq conveyed her and her son's petitions on 1 Amardād, Divine month, and H.M. in his abundant gentleness and old affection graciously received her excuses. He made the envoys joyful and then dismissed them. Also at this time Hakīm 'Ain-al-mulk arrived from the Deccan. He had been sent to guide 'Ādil Khān of Bijāpūr. He performed that service and tendered 'Ādil Khān's supplication. Rashīd-al-mulk, who brought the petitions and the rarities of that country, was duly honoured.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of the ambassador of 'Abdullah K. the ruler of Tūrān with a friendly letter and noble presents. On account of the daily-increasing fortune of H.M. there had previously been an endeavour (on 'Abdullah's part) to establish friendship (lit. there had been a shaking of the chain of friendship) but because H.M. had thoughts of conquering his ancestral<sup>2</sup> territories, and on account of the revelation of his ('Abdullah's) proposals, H.M. had not paid much attention to the ambassador. For a long time he was busy<sup>3</sup> in camp. For instance, there was the turmoil of the victorious army during the first expedition to Gujarat. The masterpiece of Sarnāl astonished the ambassador, and when H.M. returned victorious, he, at the request of the officers of state,

<sup>1</sup> *Farzandī* sonship. Her idea was that he might make him his son-in-law, as indeed afterwards happened for Akbar married him to his daughter *Shukru nisā*.

<sup>2</sup> This refers to Akbar's idea of

reconquering the countries which had belonged to his grandfather.

<sup>3</sup> *Takāpū dāshī*. Possibly this means that the ambassador had gone about with Akbar in his expedition.





wrote a reply and sent him off. In order that the correspondence might be severed, no one was sent from the court along with him. When he returned to his country, he reported the wondrous fortune of the spiritual and temporal king of kings. The ruler of that country had regard to final consequences and had recourse to entreaties, and wrote warmer expressions of supplication, and exhibited the appearances of sincerity. The gist of his language was that the world-conquering sovereign should make an expedition from India to Persia in order that they might by united efforts release 'Irāq, Khurāsān and Fārs from the throne occupant thereof. The world's Khedive in his liberality and gentleness received the envoy graciously and dismissed him after making him happy. He sent M. Fūlād<sup>1</sup> with him, along with some of the rarities of India, and so soothed the Turanians. The reply he wrote was that the dynasty in question (the Persian dynasty) was specially connected with the family of the Prophet, and that on this account he could not regard a difference<sup>2</sup> in law and religion as a ground for conquest. He was also withheld from such an enterprise by old and valued friendships. As in the (i.e. 'Abdullah K's) letters (lit. nosegay) of friendship the ruler of Iran had not been mentioned with honour, H.M. conveyed to him valuable admonitions in reproof thereof. 212

<sup>1</sup> This is the M. Fūlād who was afterwards put to death for murdering Mullā Ahmad of Tatta, a Shia and one of the authors of the T. Alfī. B. 206. See the account of the murder in the A.N. III, 527. Badayūnī, Lowe 278, mentions M. Fūlād Barlās' being sent on an embassy to 'Abdullah K. along with Khwāja Khātīb, but he puts it into the year 987. i.e. the 24th year of the reign. Perhaps this was a second embassy. See also Elliot v, 413, who puts the embassy into the 25th year. Elliot has here a

reference to A. F.'s letters, Daftar iv, but there is no Daftar iv, and the letter conveyed by M. Fulad does not occur in A. F.'s correspondence. The remark however about the king of Persia's being connected with the family of the Prophet occurs also in the letter conveyed by Ḥakīm Hamām in the 31st year, A.N. III, 499.

<sup>2</sup> From the tenor of 'Abdullah's proposals it looks as if he had been under the impression then that Akbar was a good Sunnī. Probably Akbar did not deceive him.



## CHAPTER XXXVII.

### ANOTHER VISIT OF AKBAR TO AJMERE.

As the expeditions of just rulers are a source of soothment to mortals, and are market-days of justice, H.M. always was disposed to travelling and hunting (*sair u shikār*), especially when in this way he could make a pilgrimage to the shrine of some great ascetic. Hence he every year visited Ajmere. On the night of Bād 22 *Shahriyūr*<sup>1</sup> (about 2nd September 1577), Divine month, he mounted his horse and proceeded to the holy place. On the day that he halted at the stage of Karoha<sup>2</sup> he calmly mounted the elephant Ran Sangār, whom experienced men would not approach on account of his being violently *mast*. That riotous one submitted to the might of H.M.'s fortune, and the spectators were filled with astonishment. The superficial were astonished, but the farsighted and clear of heart rejoiced in accordance with their knowledge. Some learnt one of the thousand laudable qualities of H.M., and some emerged from the ravine of denial and entered the rose-garden of devotion. Wonderful acts were always oozing forth from the great man. Among them was that during this campaign Fath<sup>3</sup> K. the leopard keeper was in despair about an illness of his eyes. Becoming hopeless about physicians he had recourse to supplications, and H.M. cured him by breathing on him with his Messiah-like breath. Ostensibly he cured him by using the lancet, but the physicians did

<sup>1</sup> Nizāmu-d-dīn says Akbar started at this time as the month of Rajab was at hand, in which was the anniversary of the saint's death. In 985, Rajab began on 14 September 1577. A. F. states below that Akbar reached Ajmere on 4 Mihr, which about corresponds to 14 September.

<sup>2</sup> Badayūnī text, ii, 243, calls it Mahal Karoha and a dependency of Basāwar. It was here that a theft of books, described by Badayūnī, occurred. In A.N. II, 350, Karoha is mentioned as the 2nd stage from Fathpūr and before Basāwar.

<sup>3</sup> E. 523.



not set up their acquired knowledge against the wisdom that was the gift of God, and performed the prostration of supplication.

One of the occurrences was the coming to an end of the life of Shaikh Ahmad<sup>1</sup> the second son of S. Selīm of Fathpūr. He was distinguished among the men of the world for many exquisite qualities. He did not speak ill of people, nor was he made melancholy by beholding so much improper conduct. His walk and conversation were modest and sedate. From his fidelity and good service he was ranked among the Amirs, and was appointed guardian of the eldest prince. He caught a chill in the Mālwa campaign. Owing to carelessness and not listening to advice he came to the capital, and there his illness ended in paralysis. In this year, when the world-conquering standards were proceeding towards Ajmere he was brought before the world's lord, and after making the prostration he took his final leave. When he arrived at his house he expired. Hurrah for the fortunate one who rendered up his unstable life at the feet of his teacher and king! If he had staked that precious coin (his life) in carrying out the service of dominion he would have brought the jewel of manhood and right thinking to the court of manifestation. At any rate the veil over his reputation for good service would have been rent. Inasmuch as the prosperity of double-faced ones and of fair-weather friends is great, this positive statement does not suit every ear. But that great knower of unity, the fortunate one and appreciative of fidelity—whose name forms the title of this book—has gathered up the tricklings from his clear soul and expressed his approval.<sup>2</sup> 213

<sup>1</sup> B. 475.

<sup>2</sup> A. F. became more and more tortuous and enigmatical as he revised his history. These reflections do not occur in the Cawnpore edition and so, I presume, they were added in one of the revisions. I am doubtful if I have understood the paragraph, and I think the text must be corrupt. In one place I have followed the I.O. MSS. and deserted the text. This is at the sentence beginning *u garna* "otherwise" and

which I have taken along with *bārī* and rendered "At any rate." The text has *darīda amida* as if the meaning were that if S. Ahmad had lived, the veil of his honour might have been rent, i.e. he might have behaved badly or been disgraced. But both the I.O. MSS. have a negative *nyāmida*, and I think the meaning is that whatever happened, Ahmad would never have behaved badly, or been exposed. Then I think A. F. goes on to say, this is



One of the occurrences was the elevation of Saiyid Hāmid Bokhārī to the government of Multan. H.M. gave him leave after communicating to him valuable instructions about protecting the helpless and punishing the wicked. He on receiving these exerted himself to carry them into practice.

One of the occurrences was the arrival of Rajah Todar Mal from Gujarat, and his being received with royal favours. When the royal cortège was at Bāsāwar<sup>1</sup> the Rajah and many of the chief officers kissed the threshold. The Rajah told a thousand stories of the wondrous fortune of the Shāhīnshāh, and produced many of the evil-doers—of whom Dauda Beg was the ringleader—in chains. As they were not worthy of life, they were capitally punished. In accordance with former arrangements the settlement of the affairs of the Viziership was made by him (Todar Mal). Good laws were introduced by the blessing of H.M.'s paying attention to the subject.<sup>2</sup>

a bold statement to make when there are so many two-faced people about, but I am supported by the approval of Akbar. In this paragraph there occurs the curious phrase *ashnāyān-i-sirpūl* which I have translated as fair-weather friends. It literally means acquaintances of the Bridge-end (or head). *Sirpal* means to "stumble" but the Bib. Ind. points the word as *sirpūl*. *Sirpal* also means "faithless."

<sup>1</sup> This was on Akbar's way to Ajmere. According to the T.A. Abū Turāb came there too.

<sup>2</sup> Though the chapter ends here, the arrival of Akbar at Ajmere is described in the next chapter. A great part of chapter 38 is a parenthesis about the affairs of Gujarat occasioned by the arrival of Todar Mal when Akbar was on his way to Ajmere.





## CHAPTER XXXVIII.

THE STIRRING UP OF STRIFE BY MOZAFFAR HUSAIN M. FOR  
THE SECOND TIME, AND HIS FAILURE.

May Almighty God not bestow a depraved intellect, for a thousand evils are engendered by it, and the ruin of the world results from it! And if one would be protected from this evil, he must abstain from the society of the wicked, for many who are sensible and far-sighted are changed from good to evil by the companionship of those disordered ones, so that peace ends in discord. The wise have called the nature of man "A robber in secret." Involuntarily he assumes the character of his companions, and approves in himself what has excited disgust when seen by 214 him in his contemporaries. The case of Mozaffar Husain M. is a new instance of this as he, though of noble nature and clear soul, wrought his own downfall by association with the wicked. Inasmuch as there was something auspicious in his constitution, he saved his life, while the evil-thoughted went to the pit of destruction. At the time when that happened to his father and grandsire, which has been described, it was fitting that he should not slumber in the hot abode of insouciance. But from the pressure of turbulent and unwise men, among whom Mihr 'Alī was the ringleader, he dropped the reins of good guidance, and stirred up the dust of strife. By the Divine help this was laid in a short space of time. When Rajah Todar Mal went to the threshold of fortune from Gujarat, those evil-disposed men did not take a warning but again made the Mirzā a pretext for wickedness. First, they opened the hand of oppression against the traders of Cambay, and got possession of a great deal of property. Wazir K.<sup>1</sup> in reliance on the Divine power marched out of Aḥmādābad and hastened to that district. In Pīrpūr<sup>2</sup> his confidence was shaken by the disgraceful conduct of

<sup>1</sup> B. 353 (Vair K.).<sup>2</sup> There is the variant Bīrpūr, and

apparently this is correct. J. II, 253.





the comrades of Bāz Bahādur. He marched out of Sarnāl in order to fight. Most of his base servants were slaves of gold and left him and joined the enemy. Wazīr K. on seeing this became very meditative, and as the notes of disloyalty appeared on the forehead of his servants he turned back and shut himself up in Ahmadābad. On the day of Dībāzar 8 Shahriyūr, Divine month, the illfated scoundrels commenced the siege. Many of the waiters upon events joined the enemy and eagerly prosecuted wicked ideas. The condition too of the fly-natured garrison was also perverted. Wazīr K. with distinguished loyalty endeavoured at an improvement in the position. He put some into chains, and others he encouraged to do battle. When he despaired of visible help, he resolved upon dieing and awaited the wondrous fortune (of H.M.). As he was apprehensive about the two-facedness of the garrison he changed the guards of the bastions every day. At the time when things had become difficult on account of attacks by day and night, the light of heavenly aids shone forth, and the enemy became stained by the dust of failure. The brief account of this is that on 15 Shahriyūr, Divine month, the enemy plotted with the men inside and made an assault. They placed ladders and were about to succeed. Many of the self-opinionated obtained (they thought) their desires and opened the hand of plunder, and others were on the point of doing so. A musket-ball from the house of fate reached Mihr 'Alī, and all at once that ringleader of the turbulent passed to the silent abode of annihilation. On beholding this wonder of the daily-increasing fortune that dishonourable crew lost courage at the very crisis of their activity. In great confusion they fled to

215 Nadarbār. But none of the garrison came out as they feared that there was some stratagem. When a watch of the following day had passed, the truth of the world's lord's good fortune was impressed upon all, far and near. Mankind hastened to supplicate the Almighty, and prayed for the eternity of the unequalled dominion.

*Verse.*

For ever, whilst by the influences of sun and rain,  
The zephyr causes the mouth of the rosebud to  
smile :





May the lips of thy desire ne'er be closed against smiling,  
May thy fortune bring thy adversary to punishment.

Two things are the source of prosperity and auspiciousness. One is a wise heart, and the other an eye which accepts warning. Whoever from an inverted fortune is void of those two precious things will soon descend into the pit of annihilation, and become disgraced for ever and ever. The case of Mihr 'Ali shows this. He did not perceive the glories of the Shāhīnshāh's fortune and stirred up a disturbance. In a short space of time he was smitten by the archers of destiny, and took his place in eternal destruction. If he who is in reality of auspicious mind fall for some days into the desert of wandering owing to bad companionship, he is melted in the crucible of failure so that the evil alloy may be removed and he be tested. Accordingly the adventures of Mozaffar Husain M. illustrate this. At the instigation of small-minded, evil persons he went a wrong course, and blistered his feet in the stony tracts of despair. But as he was constitutionally good, the Divine protection took charge of him and made him the subject of princely favours—as will be related in its place.

One of the occurrences was that Mozaffar K. was exalted by prostrating himself at the holy threshold. It has been stated that as a retribution for his actions he had been kept at a distance. Owing to his happy star he in the dreadful wilderness of disappointment addressed prayers to H.M., and with energy, service and obedience united intellect and valour. . . . . . When the jewel of his good service had been submitted to the assayers of the Caliphate, a ray of kindness fell upon him and he was summoned to court. On 29 Shahriyār, Divine month, he came from the province of Bihar, and did homage at Hāns Mahal. He presented as peshkash the rarities of that region, and distributed four lacs of rupees. The throne-occupant exalted him by kindness and increased his dignity, and issued an order that he should minutely inquire into the affairs of the empire, and observe the rules of justice. Rajah Todar Mal and Khawāja Shāh Manṣūr were to perform their duties in consulta- 216  
tion with him. On 4 Mihr, Divine month, the delightful city of Ajmere was brightened by the arrival of the royal standards. H.M. hastened to the holy shrine and worshipped the incomparable Deity. Those who waited for his holy advent gained their wishes.





Also at this auspicious time the officers of the court weighed<sup>1</sup> the sovereign against gold and other articles, and satisfied men by abundant gifts. First that river of bounty distributed heaps of gold and silver, and afterwards the officers in accordance with an intimation from him made donations of money. Also at this time on account of the enlightenment and truthfulness of Muḥibb Ālī K., the son of the Mir Khalifa, he bestowed on him a glorious robe of honour, and gave him permission always to present the petitions of the people and also to communicate what occurred to his reflection as proper to be done.

Although the constant alertness of mind of the world's lord is such that he transacts all the business of the empire with the same completeness and efficiency, that lofty geniuses and farseeing and laborious men carry out one item of work, yet he from abundance of wisdom and knowledge of mankind and for behoof of the general public walks warily in this fashion. Seemingly it is an injunction of King Wisdom that just rulers and other great ones who have a multiplicity of engagements should not be contented with their own acumen and ability, but should also permit some prudent and well-conditioned man to make representations to them, so that at a time when there is press of work, or when wrath is in the ascendant—which sometimes causes the foot of the wise to slip—he may lay before them suitable considerations. O God, grant that while sun and shade exist, and while there are rain and verdure, this chief of Solitude and Society may shed his light on the spirits of men and on the horizons!

*Verse.*

O God, while the heavens exist,  
Do not empty the world of this king,  
Let the spheres be as the seal of his ring,  
Let the key of the universe be in his sleeve.

One of the occurrences was the death of Mujāhid Beg the grandson of Khawāja Kalān Beg. He had been appointed to be

<sup>1</sup> This was the weighing which took place on 5 Rajab, the anniversary of Akbar's birth according to the lunar calendar. B. 266. It near-

ly coincided with the 'urs or anniversary of the death of the Ajmere saint which occurred on 6 Rajab, J. III, 362.



*thāna dār* of Mohi in the province of Ajmere. Kuar Mān Singh and many brave men had gone into the defiles of the hills. In the beginning of Mihr, Divine month, the Rajputs of that quarter had come and plundered some of the protected<sup>1</sup> settlers on the newly cultivated lands. On hearing of this insolence he had become vexed and gone out rapidly and without sufficient equipment. After behaving with Rustum-like courage he travelled to his final bourne, and gained an everlasting name.

On 17 Mihr, Divine month, H.M. ascended to the summit of the fort of Ajmere and dispensed his graciousness to the sleepers<sup>217</sup> there.<sup>2</sup> Near the tomb of Saiyid Husain Khangawār he halted and paid his devotions. On that night, he, until sunrise, kindled the lamp of truth and guided the auspicious ones of the holy throng. The fortunate and enlightened listened to many physical and spiritual truths. As the architecture-loving heart of the *Shāhshāh* perceived substantive defects in that celestial fortress he directed the officers to exert themselves to repair it. In a short time the work was completed in a most excellent manner. On 22 Mihr he left that bounteous place and proceeded towards Mirtha. Ostensibly he was recreating himself with hunting, but in reality he was dispensing justice and acting according to the Divine Will.

While there he considered the appointment of a caravan-leader for the pilgrims, and on 2 Ābān he appointed Mīr Abū Turāb to that select service. He belonged to the Salāmī Saiyids of Shīrāz. His grandfather Mīr Ghīāṣū-d-dīn—May God establish him—who was known as Saiyid *Shāh* Mīr, and who was fully possessed of the acquired sciences, came (to Gujarat) in the time of Sultān Qutbu-d-dīn the grandson of the Sultān Aḥmad after whom Aḥmadābād is named, and then returned to his own native land.<sup>3</sup> He came again to Gujarat to the dominions of Sultān Maḥmūd Begarha at the time of the commotion of *Shāh* Ism'ail (Ism'ail I). He was accompanied by his two sons Mīr Kamālu-d-dīn and Mīr Qutbu-d-dīn, and

<sup>1</sup> *Zinhārīān*, "Persons under protection." But there is also the reading *dihahāi* "villages."

<sup>2</sup> Apparently what is meant is that he said prayers (*fātiḥa*) for the repose of the souls of departed men.

It was Tāragārh that he visited. The shrine of the martyred Saiyid Husain is still there. See Rajputana G. II, 16.

<sup>3</sup> Blochmann 506.



settled there and died there, after leaving a good name. Mīr Abū Turāb the son of Mīr Kamālu-d-dīn<sup>1</sup> obtained reputation in that country, and when Gujarat came into the possession of the imperial servants he was distinguished by favours from the shadow of God (Akbar), and had the bliss of becoming a disciple. When he obtained this service (that of Mīr Hāj) five lacs of rupees and 10,000 *Khilāts* were made over to him for the benefit of the inhabitants of the Hījāz. I'tmād K. Gujrati, who had for years desired to visit those shrines, also got permission to depart. Owing to the outpourings of the river of kindness large numbers of men joined the pilgrimage with proper equipment. To the *sharīfs* of that land—who had always sent representations, and the rarities of the country—there were sent a lac of rupees and splendid goods.<sup>2</sup>

One of the occurrences was the committing the government of Gujarat to *Shihābu-d-dīn Aḥmad K.* As it became known that Wazīr K. did not observe the laws of equity, and that the country was suffering in consequence, he was superseded, and the post was  
**218** conferred on the aforesaid *Khān* who was distinguished for his knowledge of affairs, industry, justice, and tenderness to the subjects, and he was transferred to this great office from Mālwa. A rescript was issued, and it was accompanied by sage instructions. Qāsim K., Tābir K., Saif-al-mulk, Mīr Ghīāṣu-d-dīn 'Alī Naqīb K., Qamar K., Firūz, *Shaikh M'uazzam*, *Shaikh Junaid* and other servants of the Presence were sent, in order to promote the tranquillity of the country. An order was issued that when the new governor arrived in the country, the Wazīr K. should come to the borders of Idar and take charge of affairs there,<sup>3</sup> and that the rest of the former officers should proceed to Court.

<sup>1</sup> According to Abū Turāb's own history, p. 17, recently edited by Dr. Denison Ross, his father's name was Qutbu-d-dīn, and Kamālu-d-dīn was his uncle. See also Rieu's Persian Catalogue, III 967b.

<sup>2</sup> In the first book of A. F.'s letters, immediately before the letter to Goa, there is a letter to the Sharīfs of Mecca. But it was written several

years after this time, and mentions the year 989.

<sup>3</sup> The text is obscure, but the *Iqbāl-nāma* says that Wazīr was to come to Idar and control the borders. The same authority adds the epithet *Kabulī* to the name of Firūz, mentioned in text. Perhaps the meaning of the passage about Wazīr is that he and *Shihābu-d-dīn* were to meet at Idar and hold a conference.





One of the occurrences was the sending of troops to extirpate the Rānā. As the most choice form of devotion in the social state is to cause the obedience of the proud and stiff-necked by suitable admonitions and vigorous plans, and if advice and rebuke are no successful, to remove such from existence so that there may be no crevice in unity, and that the pleasant abode of the world may not be stained by the confusion of plurality, Rajah Bhagwant Dās, Kanwar (Kuar) Mān Singh, Payinda K. Moghul, Saiyid Qāsim, Saiyid Rājū, Ulug Asad Turkamān, Kajra Cohān and other loyal warriors were in the year and month above mentioned despatched to carry out this great work. Shahbāz K. Mir Bakhshī was appointed to command the force, and the execution of the task was committed to him.

Under the guise of the enjoyment of hunting a successful termination was put to the distractions of the province (Rajputāna), and enterprises which in former times had not been accomplished after thousands of endeavours were now achieved by H.M.'s giving a slight and subsidiary attention to them.

(The chapter concludes with a rhapsody about Akbar's graciousness, and how even wild animals were conscious of his benignity. But the only instance given is that a deer used to eat grain out of his hand. Observing that his courtiers marvelled at this, Akbar remarked that it was not extraordinary if such things occurred, if one did not ill-treat animals and spoke kindly to those dumb creatures. Such behaviour was an attractive force which caught the heavens and the stars in the noose of love !)